26th April 1992

No. 29

"It must be emphasised, however, that human rights abuses are not simply the result of government's inability to exercise proper control over the security Forces. There are significant indications that the

Government itself wishes to cover up abusive acts perpetrated in its name. The Indemnity (Amendment Act for instance...."

> From the Report of the Canadian Human Rights Mission to Sri Lanka.

# VIRTUE WINS FINALLY

Thileepan's sacrifice gave

a great working format to

Mahathma Gandhi's policy

of non - violence.

Mr. V. Pirabakaran, the LTTE leader, issued a statement on 19.4.92 on the occasion of the final day celebrations of the fourth anniversary of Annai Poopathy who died on 19.4.1988 after having undertaken a fast at Mamankam in Batticaloa during the Indian Army occupation of Tamil Eelam.

Mr. Pirabakaran's statement in Tamil is translated and reported in full.

liberation struggle foremost in fame because of our great human sacrifices. Never before in human history has such a sttuggle taken place nor has so much been accomplished.

In this wonderful and sacrifical history of our liberation struggle; Annaí Poopathy has a special and important place. Even an ordinary being who has made bold to die for the sake of truth can create history in her life. The best example for this proposition is Annai Poopathy and her sacrifice. She embraced death for establishing truth and virtue. She, who was just an ordinary mother reached the status of the Mother of the Nation by her unparalleled

Whether in peaceful struggies or in armed struggles

## Musings of Mr. Meddle



The visiting Buddhist clergymen's speeches and proposals seem to me like the voice of Prema and the hands of J. R. !

### Curfew

An indefinite curfew has been announced in the Vavunia aud Mannar Districts excluding Army occupied areas from the morning of Saturday April, 25.

our liberation war is creating world records. It has reached

#### Martyrs - Thileepan & Annai Poopathy

India which preached the virtues of non-violence and spiritualism stepped into our land one day as an aggressive giant. At that time one of our fighters launched a fight based on the spiritual lineage of India. He wished to teach India lessons in Mahatma Gandhi's policy of non-violence. His martyrdom was the highest sacrifice in the course of spiritual will and determination.

the top layer of martyrdom.

form with a new splendour. Thileepan's sacrifice removed the Indian mist that

ggle was born as the people's upsurge of this national resurgence.

That old mother - Annai Poopathy - immolated herself in the fire of justice. That

# PIRABAKARAN

covered the eyes of our people. It built up Tamil Eelam nationalism, Annai Poopathy's non-violent stru

fire is still burning before us as the everlasting light of our freedom.

As a movement espousing national liberations the LTTE has introduced changing struggle patterns from time to time to suit the needs of time. Our movement has been an example and illustration for those patterns and has made miraculous

(Continued on Page 2)

# Bomb Explosion at Kompady

A bomb exploded a Kompady near Elephan Pass on Thursday, April 23 towards affernoon killing several people and completely burning down three shops. So far 9 of the dead have been identified. The death toll is believed to be about 15 A number of people have been injured and admitted to Hospital. Kompady is the area now used by people to cross over to Jaffna peninsula.



### BUDDHIST CLERGY IN JAFFNA

A group of Buddhist clergymen from the South arrived at Jaffna on Wednesday, April 22. The group which arrived at the Palaly Army Base by Sri Lankan planes on the noon were brought from there up to Senthankulam by officials of the ICRC.

From Senthankulam, a special commando unit of the LTTE provided escort for the Buddhist clergymen, who were received at Jaffna town by LTTE officials.

Dr. A. S. Balasingham speaking at the reception to the clergymen said that the Tamils were happy to receive the clergymen and applauded their peace efforts. He further said that the LTTE was not against the Sinhala people or the Sinhala country. The LTTE doors are kept open for peace and the Government should take meaningful steps to arrive at a political settlement.

Rev. Pandit Madampagama Assigi Thero speaking on behalf of the visiting clergymen said that there was

strong opposition in the south to their visit North. They still decided to come to the north because they wanted to create goodwill between the Sinhalese and Tamils. He further said that the Sinhalese and Tamils had lived amicably in the Island for ages. It was foreign imperialism that divided the two peoples. After independence there had been many acts of discrimination against the Tamil people which has resulted in the present tragic situation. He further said that they proposed to meet and discuss with the people and see for themselves the difficulties of the people.

The Buddhist clergymen met a delegation of the LTTE on Thursday, April 23, for discussion. The President of the Peoples' Front of Liberation Tigers, Mr. K. Mahendrarajah and its General Secretary Mr. Yogaratnam Yogi were also in the Tiger team that met the clergymen.

The clergymen handed over certain proposals which were very brief. The LTTE is expected to study the proposal and hand over their reply on Saturday, April 25.

The proposals of the clergymen are as follows:-

- 1. The individual identity of all communities living in the island should be maintained and safeguarded. There should be unity amongst these communities.
- 2. Regional Councils should be set up and powers devolved on them.
- 3. The island of Sri Lanka which contains an extent of 25,332 square miles should be accepted as the traditional homeland of all citizens. The individual identity of the minorities should be accepted.
- 4. There should be a Senate which will be composed of members elected by the Regional Councils.
- 5. The North and East should be temporarily merged for a period of three years. Thereafter a referendum should be held in the Eastern Province to decide on permanent merger.

- 6. Regional Councils can obtain foreign loans for development purposes.
- 7. Radio and TV services should be established in the regions.
- 8. Regional Police Force should be established. Opportunity should be provided for all citizens to join the regional police force.
- 9. A Free Trade Zone should be established in the Northeast,

The visiting clergymen also met the Government Agent and other officials. They also met other groups of citizens. The visiting clergymen assured those whom they met that they would be placing the difficulties of the people of the North to all people in the South.

The clergymen also met Sinhalese Police and Army captives in LTTE custody. It is reported that these captives complained that the Government had taken no meaningful steps to have them released.

The clergymen also visited some places destroyed by Sri Lankan Air Force planes and other Govt. armed forces.

# Legitimacy of Tamil Belam Struggle

Dr. Shantha K. Henanayake in his article .. The Dead End of Guerilla Politics" published in the ISLAND of 11th and 12th of April 1992 respectively refers to the Liberation ligers of Tamil Eelam as a Tamil nationalistic guerrilla organisation, it may have started as such but now definitely it is not. LTTE now heads a de facto Government of the North and East, the Eelam. The present war is between the Eelam which is governed LTTE the the Sri Lanka government devoid of political power or backing among the Sinhalese which like a pack of cards could totter at any moment.

The above article is self contradictory from the start. It states that many Sri Lankans, including the Tamils are not aware of the true na ure of the Guerilla politics. Many Sri Lankaus may not be. but the Tamils who a Community whose main industry is education surely know their past correct history, past history of the world, history of freedom struggles all over the world and how man advanced to the present state where he is now through struggles from slavery to freedom. This age long struggle among many others is based on Guerilla as well as conventional methods of warrare.

#### Boston Tea Party

It is good to delve into the history of other countries to find out how they gained their natiophood, unification etc. Histories of Great Britain, France, Spain, Italy, Germany Etc. are revealing. Take for example the only super power in the world today, the United States of America. How did its struggle for independence start? It started as a guerilla struggle. All remember the Boston Tea Party. The participants painted themselves as Red Indians and precipitated the attack. Did not these people gain their independence and establish the state called the United States of America? Did they not become a conventional army under the leaderhip of George Washington? American settlers never went for a General Election or a Referendum to get a vote to fight British imperialism.

The learned doctor says
"The violence, killing of
people and destruction of
property is against both
legal as well as the moral

codes of people anywhere". "American settlers did definitely kill British troops, destroy British property, destroy British trade and cause the loss of is empire. What legal right they had as freedom fighters? Did they act against all moral codes of conduct? Just because one belongs to a majority community should not go too low in distorting facts and use nice solemn words like "legal" and 'moral' to bolster up one's arguments.

In the same way when states are formed with the will of the people for the progress and betterment of people did the opponents i. e. opponents within the states as well as other states opposed to them and who were mostly reactionaries,

## S. Thiagarajah

allow these states to exist peacefully to perform and pursue what they considered right. For instance when the Paris Commune was formed in 1871 immediately after the fall of Napoleon III did not the arch tyrant Thiers, its vehement opponent and reactionary to the core, form the illicit Versailles army and connive with Prussia and oust it massacring more than 26,000 innocent lives? Did all t e so called peace loving legal nations U,S.A. Britain, Germany etc. allow the fledgling U.S.S.R which had successfully revolted against the tyrant Czar to exist and develop peacefully? Whether legitimate or moral all governments and people serve their class interests.

### Legitimacy of the LTTE

A brief history of recent Tamil politics will give a glaring picture of how LTTE got its legitimacy to lead North East in its fight for Eclam. For nearly forty years Tamil leaders who were part time politicians strived for an existence along with the Sinhalese. But at every turn they were rebuffed. Thus arose the Thamil Arasu Kadchy. It, too, with its proposal for federalism tried peaceful methods to achieve same. Ahimsa method was trampled down by the Sinhalese. Probably this is the type of legal struggle Dr. Henanayake wants the Tamils to follow. He does not want any other methods that is why he says "One should not read this as a statement against Tamil nationalist politics. While I believe that peaceful and legal Tamil nationalist politics is a legitimate right of the Tamils" Ahimsa stru-

ggle failing, the Tamils realising their fate to certain extent shed their differences and formed the United Liberation Front. Younger and militant elements were emerging and rearing for leadership. Therefore to satisfy this new upsurge and unrest and to assuage the aspirations of the studenta and the youth. T U. L. F. at its inaugurai sessions at Vaddukoddai passed the resolution to restore and re-constitute an independent sovereign Tamil state of Eelam in 1976. At the General Elections in the following year TULF sought a mandate from the Tamils and said votes for the TULF would be regarded as plebecite taken from he Tamils on the Tamil Eelam issue. Tamils responded and gave an overwhelming support. After the elections, true to form our old part time politicians abandoned Eelam. At this stage came the "boys" who disillusioned and let down by their Leaders. They came to the vanguard and took to arms. By its own right and through dedication and sacrifice the LTTE became the vanguard organisation. They are carrying on the

legal battle unaccomplished by the T. U. L. F for whom the people had given a mandate to fight for Eelam. This much for the legitimacy of the LTTE to fight for and on behalf of the Tamils for Eelam. If this is not enough, any person with a conscience will accept that the people of the North and East in voting for the Independent Groups at the last General Elections revalidated their faith in the LTTE. Eventhough it was a Eros arrangement everyone knows and subsequent develop-ents clearly showed that those votes were for the LITE.

#### Cause of Militancy

Contradicting himself Dr. Henanayake states 'Tamil Guerrila politics, in fact for the first time, clearly and very forcefully indicated to the Sinhalese, Sri Lankan state in general and political leaders in particular, that Tamil nationalism is not something that can longer be ignored and that real political solution and a commitment to it by all Sri Lankans is an utmost neccessity." Dr. Henanayake must clearly understand that

this stage of development in militancy arose because of the Sinhalese both religious and lay failed to understand and solve the ethnic question. Does he still want the "boys" to sit at the Galle Face Green and get stoned and manhandled by his peace loving legal government and the Sinhalese hooligans who cut and burn the Tamils following moral codes of conduct.

#### Pressures

Dr. Henanayake says that because of both interval and external pressures Sri Lankans are slowly being forced to adhere to the "good democratic ideals". By this he admits that the Sinhale Government is undemocratic in character and that it is the internal and external pressures that make it adhere to good democratic ideals. This is, of course due to the pressures of the World Bank IMF and the AID groups. This is external pressure. What is the internal pressure?

It is the bashing it gets from the LTTE: It is because of this the government was torced to grant citizenship and franchise to the socalled Tamils of Indian origin.

(Continued on Page 5)

# Virtue Wins..

(Continuation from Page 1)

sacrifices. This unique quality of ours has caused our struggle to be an example and model for the entire oppressed world.

#### Genuine Peace efforts

We have shown as much honest approach in peace efforts as we show in our earnestness towards war efforts. We declared cease fire on many occasions and participated in peace talks. Even to-day our doors are wide open for peaceful negotiations.

Even so Sinhala imperialists are not ready to settle the national problems of Tamils by peaceful means. Sinhala country is still not ready to grant justice to Tamils on the basis of human

The Sinhala ruling class does not appear to have abandoned the old oppressive path of oppressing and suppressing the Tamil ration, and still clings on to the scheme of establishing military superiority by amassing weapons, by keeping the Tamil people at the point of the gun and by forcibly plundering the motherland of the Tamils.

#### No Fundamental Change

There seems to be no fundamental change in the Sinhala political world in relation to the problems of the Tamils. The Sinhala racists do not seem to have taken to heart the pathetic conditions of our people engrossed as they are in a long and endless tragedy of blood and tears. Sinhala imperalism is carrying on an unvirtuous and uncivilised governance standing on the heap of over 30,000 dead bodies of Tamils.

#### No forced Settlement

The Sinhala Government thinks that it can force a settlem ut pressurising the Tigers by escalating the war on the one hand and carrying out parleys on the other. Our movement will never accept this double standard approach of war and peace. If large scale aggression on Tamil land is committed and large numbers of Tamils are killed, the doors of peace which we now keep open shall be closed. I should like to make this very clear. We are not enemies of the path to peace. But peaceful approach is not a question of givingup our people's rights and interests. Yet if we can win our people's rights—if we can maintain and protect our people's interests—we are ready to embrace the path of peace. But our enemy wishes to manipulate peaceful approach only as a political trap. Therefore we have to be very careful with the enemy's strategical moves.

#### At Cross Roads -Beware!

Today we are in a critical historical period. The enemy may attack us militarily. He may continue a new war of aggression. But whatever happens, so long as we are possessed of boldness and determination not to be frightened by anything, no force on earth can beat us. It is a historical fact that in a battle for truth, virtue finally wins

On this holy day let us remember all our martyrs and people who died battling against alien aggression and extend our salutations to those heroes.

# Sri Lanka a Killing Field

he Australasian Federation of Tamil Associations in a well argued memorandum to the Sri Lanka Aid Group meeting on February 8 in Paris called for the suspension of aid to Sri Lanka.

The memor ndum sent by its Chairman, Professor C.J. Eliezer says: 'Sri Lanka is one of the killing fields in the world today. During the last 30 months, almost 100,000 civilians have been killed by the Sri Lankan Armed forces and their Special Task Force (150,000 since July 1977). There is little doubt that the Sri Lankan Government Was enabled to commit these crimes on its own citizens because of the resources in arms and personnel it has been able to purchase through funds received from such bodies as the aid group, Word Bank, IMF etc. While donors believe that their funds are ear marked for certain development projects, they have little means of ensuring this (examples of diversion for military purposes will be given later). Further, even if funds are used for the intended development, it does not mean that Government's own funds, which would otherwise have been used for development projects, have become available for arms and personnel.

# SRI LANKA'S WAR

The Sri Lankan Government is a mlghty war machine. Through a Special Task Force (SFF) it killed over 60.000 Sinhalese civilians who were believed to have sympathies with a Sinhalese Anti Government Group – the JVP. Having disposed of Sinhala opposition, it resumed with new ferocity the war on the Tamils.

It has been estimated that in 1991, the Sri Lankan Government spent 16.7 billion rupees as against the budgeted 11.7 billion rupees, 43% more than the budget, on its genocidal war on the Tamil nation. This amount was more than 25% of the total revenue of the country. (Sunday Times 17.11.91: The Island 10.11.91)

The Government is able to spend this high percentage

of its revenue on the war, by diverting what it would normally have spent on development to military purposes, while international donations are available for development.

#### WHERE THE FUNDS WENT

Some reports from Sri Lankan newspapers:

- (a) "Government signed a New Arms Deal with Iraq" (Sunday Times 28-4-91)
- (b) "Army has taken delivery of a new regiment of medium range 130mm artillery... from China" (Island 28.4.91).
- (c) "The Sri Lankan Air Force will soon take delivery of a new squadron of supersonic jet fighters..." (from China) (Island 26.5.91)
- (d) "The Sri Lankan Army is strengthening its armoured corps with the addition of Several Dozens Tanks from China and Poland" (Sunday Times 29 9.91).
- (e) "The Sri Lankan Navy would commission three new Chinese gun boats.." (Island 8 11.91).

Whether donor institutions are multilateral or not, their finances are provided by some states, and these are answerable to their taxpayers. We believe it is the responsibility of donars to ensure that funds:

- (a) benefit all people of the country equitably, and are not used to promote ethnic disadvantages.
- (b) support development purposes of long standing benefit instead of short term programs and repetitive requests:

Among the factors which the Aid Group would need to consider is the continuing human rights situation. Recently, the EC Parliamentary Group. Represent tives of Amnesty In ernational, World Council of Churches, US Committee for Refugees, Working Group on Disappearances of the UN Commission on Human Rights have visited Sri Lanka and reported on the horriving human rights situation. These groups were not able to visit the Tamil areas and ascertain first hand the devastation

and destruction caused by Government actions. The European and British Parliamentary Team after their November 1990 visit, stated that 60,000 Sinhalese had disappeared and envisaged that a similar number (60,000) would be the equivalent dead in the North and East

The Sri Lankan Government has been aware that its human rights record jeopardises its applications for international aid. It has become customary, at times when the Aid Group is due to meet, to tak about negotiation, peace, devolution etc. At the October 1990 meeting, donor countries pledged a massive US Dollers 1000 million with the hope that Government -LTTE talks at that time would result in lasting peace (Island 27.10 91).

Acknowledging the aid, the Sri Lankan Minister declared in Paris:

"The government would honour its international obligation regarding human rights"

Such assurance are for the moment only. The Sri Lankan Government has a history of treating International Human Rights organisations and their reports with a degree of contempt.

For example, "Sri Lankan Minister of State for Defence Ranjan Wijeratne, renewed his charge that Amnesty International was a terrorist organisation... "I don't take any notice of it (the report). Mr. Wijeratne said" (AFP Colombo 20.9 90.)

Certain third world countries have bad human rights records. What they desire is for large international donations to spend as they like, and have the freedom to kill off all their opponents without international objections.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANISATIONS

As the war escalated and human desolation international relief and humanitarian organisations became concerned. Some overseas NGOs were able to enter and render relief. The International Red Cross was for years refused admission. Eventually, under

international pressure, permission was granted reluctantly to ICRC in 1989. These relief organisations have done great work, despite shortage of funds and other handicaps. Government, however, has disliked them and created difficulties, as the following reports will show:

"Sri Lankan Air Force bombed the Jaffna Hospital on Friday, two days after the Red Cross opened it under a safety plan, ICRC said" (AFP 10-11-90)

"Three expatriates working for a French Volunteer Organisation are to be flown to Paris after being wounded in an aircraft attack on their car " (AFP 4-5-91)

"ICRC complained that a rice ware-house operated by them had been bombed in Point Pedro. The military spokesman confirmed this." (AFP 19-10-91)

"The NGOs operating in Sri Lanka have been brought under 'investigation' by a Committee appointed by the Sri Lankan Government. The object is apparently to discredit these humanitarian workers who are giving relief to the Tamil people"

"International Commission of Jurists, a non-Government organisation with a consultative status at UNESCO, has expressed concern at the probe into NGOs in Sri Lanka"

(Sunday Times 8-12-91)

#### HUMAN RIGHTS AKD THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

The International Community has a collective responsibility for the maintenance of human rights in every part of the world. While internal affairs within States are accepted as matters for non-interference from outside, human rights is a different matter. These responsibilities on the Interna ional human rights is a different matter. These responsiblities on the International community are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. To take an example, the nations which combined to impose economic sanctions on South Africa did so under their commitments to the human rights of all people.

Some International statements would be of interest:

European Community Statement (22-10-90): "The Community and its member states urge the Government to observe its international obligations in the field of human rights. The Community and its member States wish to draw attention to the fact that member states will be considering their future assistance for the development of Sri Lanka's economy with reference, among other factors, to the Government's performance in regard to human

(Continued on Page 4)

# ARRESTS IN VAVUNIA

Over 100 Tamils living in the areas under Sri Lankan Army occupation in Vavunia were arrested by the Sri Larkan Police during the second week of April.

It is reported that persons resident within areas under Sri Lankan Army occupation are required to obtain special identity cards. These persons were arrested as they had not obtained the special identity cards. The arrested persons include women.

The report further says that some arrested persons were rekased but none under the age of 30 were released.

# Civilians Attacked in Reprisal

Twelve persons were injured when Sri Lankan soldiers broke into a rice mill at Palamunai near Kattankudi in the Battica oa District.

Earlier the LUTE opened fire at service personnel proceeding from Kattankudi to Arayampathy A reserve police officer was killed and a soldier belonging to the Volunteer Corp of the Sri Lankan Army was injured in the LTTE attack.

Consequent to this the Sinhala soldiers entered a rice mill at Palamunai and attacked persons therein.

Twelve Tamils are reported

injured in this incident which took place on Wednesday, April 8.

## More troops moved into Vavunia

Large numbers of troops are reported to have been moved into Vavunia town by the Sri Lankan Army,

According to the report, large numbers of Sinhala soldiers are being camped at Tamil and Muslim schools in Vavunia town. Hundreds of soldiers are encamped at the recently renovated Muslim school at P ttanich-chi Puliyankulam.

# BATTICALOA

# Level of Militarisation - Alarming

Peter McCreath and Pierre Duquette, accompanied by Robin Gibson, visited the communities of Batticaloa. Kattankudy, Kokkadichcholai and Eravur. During the course of three days conversations were held with community leaders, religious leaders, the military commander of the security forces, the political officer of the LTTE, the Government Agent, the faculty of Eastern University and many members of various small communities.

The most moving part of our three-day visit was the experience of being approached by over 260 individuals, mostly women, and presented with letters or petitions beseeching us to assist with the locating of a disappeared loved one, be it a son or daughter or husband. About 60% of the disappearances had occurred in 1990, the remainder in 1991, with a handful occurring either in 1992 or prior to 1990.

The most alarming aspect of our time in Batticaloa was the level of militarization. Not withstanding the government statements that Batticaloa district had "returned to normalcy", the region was under a virtual state of war. There we re checkpoints maintained by the security forces at frequent intervals in the towns and on the main roads The LTTE maintained their checkpoints in

the inland areas. While the military personnel seemed courteous in carrying out their responsibilities, the automatic weapons, be it an M 16 or T 56 or other offensive weapon, carried by virtually every soldier, police officer or Tiger soldier, were highly intimidating. We spoke to two men in Kallady who told us of incidents where villagers had been harassed and killed by Muslim Home Guards and security forces.

The population seemed to be in a general state of fear. People were discouraged from going out at night The potential for arbitrary arrest and or disappearance seemed to exist in the minds of most people we met. Only in the Muslim community of Kattankudy did we find unequivocal and whole - hearted support for the security forces and the government. They blamed the LTIE for the August 15th, 1990 mosque massacre, in which 103 people were killed while at prayer.

In the village of Kokkadichcholai, we were deeply moved as the villagers, described the June '91 massacre and listed the members of their families among the 107 people killed by security forces. They also complained about daily harassment from the army, including soldiers entering homes and taking what they wanted.

It was apparent to us that normal life in Batticaloa district was not possible. At Eastern University in Chenkalady the faculty indicated that the government had virtually cut off all funding and that fear of commuting had reduced the student enrolment from the normal number of 800 to 200 students. From June to September 1990, the university was

effort to bring in other members of their families. and people were still disappearing or being killed and bodies desecrated with no proper identification or burial.

A sad consequence of the conflict was the departure of many of the community leaders. They had left to

what is probably the most accurate list of disappeared persons. They have recorded since June 1990 a list of 3,418 disappearances.

Few people addressed any attention to anything going on in far away Colombo. The universal preoccupation was simple survival.

We left Batticaloa having formed a number of conclusions. It was apparent that respect for human rights of individuals seems virtually non-existent.

The government's refusal to seriously address the problems of disappeared persons or to establish acceptable forms of due process in dealing with arrests and detentions can only be described as appalling It would appear that at lower levels there is little discipline in the army. The government is unwilling to admit that atrocities continue to occur or to recognize that the

(Continued on Page 5)

# Excerpts from a Report presented by the Canadian Human Rights Mission to Sri Lanka.

closed and turned into a refugee Camp.

Generally there seemed to have been a drastic reduction in government services. For example, hospitals and infirmaries were closed and there was no evidence of reconstruction either of houses or infrastructure. The countryside was dotted with houses and buildings that had been shelled or bombed. It was widely reported that two youths were shot and burned within four hundred meters of our hotel the first night we were in Batticaloa.

The Brigadier of the Army seemed to be making an effort to rectify the appalling disregard for human rights of arbitary arrest, but evidence suggested that not all arrests were reported. Some detainees were kept in secret camps, some people were arrested and held as hostages in an

seek refuge elsewhere. The strongest remaining sense of community leadership seemed to be provided by the intrepid Jesuit fathers of Saint Michael's College, in particular, Father Harry Miller and Father Joseph Mary. Under Father Miller's leadership, the Batticaloa

Peace Committee had developed and maintained

## Sri Lanka...

(Continuation from Page 3)

Amnesty Director to Australian Financial Review (6-11-90) "Amnesty International and a number of NGOs have for a number of years urged donor governments to use this forum to pressurise the Sri Lankan Govt. to ensure the rule of law through out the island Until governments. including those of Japan and Australia. consistently take account of human rights considerations in their aid policies, a so called improvement in the aid performances will not become a reality"

Australian Council for Overseas Aid (Resolution, September 1991) to urge the Australian Government to channel AID whenever possible through NGOs and other bodies to ensure that all victims of this conflict are assisted" - thereby recommending that aid should not be channelled through the Sri Lankan Government.

Norway has recently withdrawn its aid to Sri Lankan Government in view of its continuing human rights abuses. (The Island 21-10-91)

#### PEACE INITIATIVES

The need to find a peaceful solution to the ethnic conflict that has brought so much misery has been emphasised by many writers. Hopes were high when the Government and LITE initiated peace talks in 1989. For

eighteen months talks continued and it was said that agreements on several points had been reached. However, in June 1990 the talks collapsed, and the war resumed. with each side blaming the other for the failure. It should be noted that none of the agreed provisions was implemented by the government during the eighteen months, indicating that it was not committed to the objectives of the talks but was utilising the time to re-arm itself. The conflict goes on inconclusively, and friends of Sri Lanka have tried to bring about peace.

1. The Australia Government, based on a bi - partisan recommendation from the opposition, approached the Sri Lankan President twice during the past 12 months calling for a negotiated solution, involving the British Commonwealth of which Sri Lanka is a member. Positive response has not been forthcoming.

2 The European Community "communicated to Sri Lanka last week about the need to find political solutions to the country's problems" (The Island 1-12-91)

#### APPEAL

We urge you to suspend aid until the Sri Lankan Government changes its policy of a military solution to a negotiated peace. Economic and political sanctions should also be considered if the Sri Lankan Government continues with its intransigent policies.

By Courtesy: Tamil Nation

# The base of Tranquility

Fashion leads to passion without reason
Illusion covers the vision of the bosom
Collision of might and right results beyond fathom
Pollution pervades and flows everywhere as poison

Nations are built on the marshy land of might
But not on the bed-rock of healthy right
Notions of mercy with might must lead to see light
Caution the motion of domination to illumine bright

Lot of words about amity and comity on the lip
But the puzzle and tussle of the mind always clip
Correct belief should march hand in hand with couduct right
Resurrection can be felt and seen as soul vision perfect

Science is not the panacea for all the ills of the world Conscience is the root cause for all the incessant evils that whirl Nuisance bubbles nakedly with vehemence in the thinking pool Patience and purity of mind is the source of calm and cool

Telescope and microscope cannot measure the scope of the universe Tales of discoveries and inventions induce the mankind to immerse Valleys of hatred and jealousy expand and engulf the humanity Callousness and selfishness smash the worla's integrity and unity

There is one-word poem 'Love' the human beings have to sing and act
Bear it in mind perpetually so that the rhythm will keep them perfect
Lore light tranquility and bliss will remove the human pain
Stir the heart to do selfless service, without gain

- ANBEZHIL

# Musings by Nestor

# A Few Questions to the Buddhist Bhikkus

How are the Sinhalese hurt if the Tamils are allowed to manage their own affairs in their dry and barren North East?

When in 1958 and other subsequent occasions of mass Sinhala racial violence against the Tamils who happened to live in the midst of the Sinhalese, the Sinhala Government had no alternative but to commandeer the cargo-boats. then in the Colombo harbour and ship them to the ports of the North and the East. Why did the Sinhala Govern. ment ship this human cargo to the North and East? Is it not because the North and East were their traditional homeland where they could find safety?

When on the occasions of Sinhala mass racial violence against the Tamils, many Tamil victims took shelter in Christian Churches' did any such Tamil victim of Sinhala racial violence seek shelter in any Buddhist Vihere? Did any Buddhist Viharadipathy invite any of these Tamil victims of Sinhala racial aggression to seek shelter in their Vihares?

According to Mahavamsa and other Sinhalese chronicles a contingent of five hundred Bhikkus are said to have marched along with

Dutta Gamini's Armies to kill Ellalan, the Tamil king renowned for administration of justice. Who is the modern Dutta Gamini whom you have come to bless?

Buddhist Arahats are said to have concluded that the innocent civilian Tamils said to number millions whom Dutta Gamini caused to be

killed were equivalent to beasts because they were not Buddhists and killing beasts was no sin and that Dutta

Gamini's action in causing the slaughter of such a large number of Tamils would not debar his entry to Heaven. Will similarly the torture and the killing of at least twenty five thousand innocent Tamils by the Sinhala Armed Forces result in muderous Sinhalese soldiers being admitted to the tulsita Heaven?

#### **BOMBERS** TERRORIZE

Two Sri Lankan bombers hovered over Jaffna and surruonding areas for two consecutive nights on Saturday, April 18th and Sunday, April 19th respectively. No dropped, bombs were though at various places

they dived threateningly. Tension prevailed among the people but as it was dusk. the movement of the bombers could not be sighted.

# Fishermen missing

Ariyarajan Nixon (25). Rajalingam Donald Suresh Kumar (26) and Manuel Thasan Stephen (24), three fishermen from Gurunagar who weni out fishing in the sea off Mandativu on April 14th have not returned.

The relations of these fishermen have been greatlyagitated because of the Sri Lankan naval presence in the sea.

#### Batticaloa...

(Continuation from page 4)

situations is simply out of control Aside from enforcing some strict discipline, the security forces should substantially reduce their visible military presence througout the area. This would make it easier to allow the public to feel things are returning to normal.

Economic resources are badly needed in the east. Development assistance must

reach beyond emergency relief and focus on rebuilding the physical and human infrastructure of a badly damaged society. In the absence of leadership from other religious communities, the Roman Catholic Church would seem to be in a strong position to provide local leadership and perhaps could be one of the channels through which aid to the people should be directed. The Canadian High Commissioner should be commended for her support of the work of the Batticaloa

ing to Eastern University. The education of the next gen ration of leaders must be a high priority. Four Tamils

Peace Committee. The govern-

ment should restore full fund-

# Killed in Trinco.

It is reported that five Tamil fisher men were arrested at Selvanagar in Trincomalee. Four of them have been shot dead and the other is reported to have come back with gun shot wounds.

# egitimacy....

(Continuation from Page 2)

It is also because of the fact that people of North and East with stood the rigours of the economic embargo placed on them by not sending even essential item of food etc. It is when through their ingenuity and hard work that the North and to a certain extent the East began producing for themselves their own needs thus establishing a home based economy, that the Sri Lanka government realised that Sinhalese capitalis.s would lose their markets in the North and East, This prompted the Government to lift the embargo. Sinhalese Government has to be taught good conduct the hard way. Basically and intrisically it is bad. It is like the Ancien Regime in France, they have not learnt anything or forgotten anything.

#### Gun Culture

Dr. Henanayake says that democratic politics creates a ballot based culture but guerilla politics can only produce a gun culture. Even if he does not understand democracy, does he not know that what is practised in the Sinhalese areas? What do the Black Cais, Ukkussa: Praacarry? Do they carry toy guns? Is Fremadasa Udugampola talking through his hat? What did the half burned and floating bodies in South

West and Central Hills represent? Is it democracy? No doubt the LTTB carry guns. They have to do so. They are fighting for a cause, for an ideal, to redeem their mother land to defend and safe guard its people. What are these organisations in the South, West and Central Hills fighting for? To muffle opposition, suppress trade union rights, strangle cultural awakening and throttle everything progressive. To raise aioft ballot based culture but indulge in gun culture undercover.

#### Democracy and Secularism

Dr. Henanayake says that 'Sri Lanka has been viewed by other member states of the international community as secular and democratic. Is there a semblance of democracy in Sri Lanka with its Gun culture? Even if we accept that Sri Lanka appears to be democratic in the eyes of those states whose credencials to same are also in doubt, can anyone boldly say that Sri Lanka is a secular state? Section 9 of the present constitution says that it shall be the duty of the state to give Buddhism the foremost place and to protect, preserve and foster the Bauddha Sasana. Where is the secularism Dr. Henanayake speaks of? Does

he not know how the Sr Lanka Government tampered with its national flag? It has now put four bo-leaves on the four corners of the flag. Is this secularism? Whom does Dr. Henanayake wants to fool?

#### Colonisation

According to Dr. Henana-

yake one of the basic mistakes of the Tamil nalionalists is their inablity to differentiate between Sinhalese and Muslim people living in the villages in and around their self declared "Tamil home - land" and the Sri Lankan state. He also continues that by identifying the ordinary Sinhalese with the Sri Lankan state the LTIE began eliminating the non Tamil people from the Northern and Eastern Provinces. What were these ordinary Sinhalese doing in the North and East? Surely, they were not engaged in any trade or business of their own? They were planted by Sri Lankan government in the traditional home land of the Tamil people after driving the Tamils by force. This happened in Amparai through the Gal Oya development colonization and in the Tiincomalee District by the Kanthalai colonization schemes. Because the Tamil leaders of the past engaged themselves in the way Dr. Henanayake wants us even now to follow, within a period of fifteen years from 1949 the Sinhalese governmeet was able to carve out

wo electorates in the Eastern Province and got two Sinhalese members returned to parliament - one from Amparai and other from Seruwila. This is the crafty scheme that the Sinhalese played on the Tamils to decimate them in their own traditional home land. Does Dr. Henanayake want the LTIE to just sit tight and look on? Forcible colonization can only be stopped by force. There is nothing else unless the government relents.

#### Conclusion

The Tamil leaders in their early stages of political involvement committed mistakes. They rather wanted to identify themselves with the Sinhalese, some even advocated the cause of the Sinhalese and Buddhism. In

this the "left" politicians too made mistakes. Mistake, even though sometimes fatal, could be excused if it is bona fide. Dr. Henanayake urges Tamil nationlists to give up violent politics and to adhere to peaceful legal means to establish their rights. But, he very well knows that stage has passed long ago. Heart to heart he knows that the Sinhalese government is bent on genocide of the Tamils. While talking peace, it is preparing for war. Let not Dr. Henanayake with his persuasive articles deceive the gullbile Tamils and dissuade the Tamils from being prepared for war. Any Tamil opposing the way the Tamil nationalism is expressing itself will be found fault with by future generations.

### One Sinhala Soldier at Vavuniya move towards the sentry

A Sri Lanka soldier was killed and his weapon recovered on 19th when the LTIE attacked a group of Sri Lankan soldiers who tried to

points of LTTE near the Sri Lankan army camp at Puliyankulam, Vavuniya. The attack took place with in 150 yards of the army camp.

CRICKET

In the Donald Ganeshkumaran Limited Over Cricket Tourney, Old Golds beat Centralites (Blues) by 100 runs. This match was played at the Central College Grounds on 20-4-92.

Fine fielding and good bowling enabled the Old Golds to win easily.

It may be mentioned that this is the Third Consecutive Year of this knock-out tournament being organised by Gin Vimalathasan.

-VIJAYAKUMAR-

SUNDAY 26th April 1992

ISSUE: 29

### Serious Consideration Necessary

The Buddbist Clergymen now in Jaffna have given their set of proposals for the resolution of the Tamil-Sinhala national question to the LTTE and the LTTE reply according to reports would have been handed over to the clergymen by the time this paper reaches the hands of our readers.

The clergymen's proposals being one that concerns the general public need public scrutiny.

The following points find place in the clergymen's

- 1. The Island should be accepted as the traditional homeland of all the citizens living here! The identity of the minorities should be admitted.
- 2. Regional Councils should be set up and powers devolved on them.
- 3. The Northeast merger should be in force for three years at the end of which a referendum should be held in the East to determine whether the merger should be permanent or whether the East should secede from the merged Northeast province.
- 4. A regional Police where all citizens are found place should be established
- 5. A free trade zone should be opened in the Northeast.

The Buddhist clergymen have also told the Press in Jaffna earlier that they came here despite opposition in the south and that the Tamils and Sinhalese have lived amicably for ages and that the cause of ethnic conflict today is foreign imperialism and the discriminatory acts against the Tamils after independence.

It looks to us that the Buddhist clergymen have correctly diagnosed the malady but have not found the treatment.

Of course the Tamils and the Sinhalese have lived amicably before the advent of foreign imperialism but not under one state structure. The Sinhalese had their own kingdoms and the Tamils theirs and they could co - exist amicably in the island. Foreign imperialists lumped together the different peoples and thus sowed the seeds of dissension. Sinhala rule after independence has aggravated the woes of the Tamils.

We agree with the Buddhist clergymen on the cause of the malady but re-iterate that the treatment lies in restoring Tamil Eelam to the Tamils- and the Sinbalese ruling Sinbala Rata giving up their imperial claim to rule the Tamils in Tamil Eelam.

In regard to the specific proposals put forward by the clergymen we regret to note that they are conspicuous by the absence of any concrete proposals in relation to the fundamental problems.

The proposals do not concede that Northeast is traditional homeland of the Tamils It wants to treat the Tamils as a minority in the context of an all Island polity and not as a nation. It speaks of setting up of regional councils all over the island which is not even a demand of the Sinhaless. How does a Regional Council in the south help to solve the problem in the Northeast? It speaks of a referendum after three years in the east to decide whether the east should remain merged to the north or secede from it. By the same logic will the clergymen agree to a referendum to decide whether Tamil Eelam should remain merged to Sinhala Rata or secede from it? The proposals speak of devolution of power - assuming that power resides in the Sinhala state and not with the peoples – a complete misunderstanding of domocracy and sovereignty.

The proposals do not speak anything about de colonisat on. The clergymen refer to a Police Force composed of all races but say nothing about the other armed forces. Does it require any great intelligence to see through the plan - ensure recruitment of Sinhala Police in the Northeast but leave the other armed forces entirely in the hands of the Sinhalese? What relevance has free - trade zone to resolving the national question except in so far as to remove some part of Tamil territory out of Tamil hands?

These are some questions that require to be seriously considered by the Buddhist clergymen and we have no doubt that they will do so - now that they are deeply involved in finding a peaceful resolution of the national conflict.

#### Tragedy Point Pedro at

Twenty seven fishermen who went out fishing on Monday, April 20th, were attacked by the Sri Lankan Navy. Two of them died in the sea, three are still missing and the other twenty two brought ashere the following day by a rescue team of fishermen who found them struggling for life in the sea.

The report in this connection states that twenty seven men went out fishing as usual in their outboard motor fishing vessels on the morning of Monday, April 20th. In the sea they were fired at by the Sri Lankan navy. Two persons who died were Umapathy Sivaraja, a father of eight children and P. Sellathurai, a father of five children. The missing fishermen are Mathias Arulnayagam, Arokiyanathar Varapragasam and Sebastiampillai Shakespeare. Twenty two fishermen were brought to shore by a rescue team the following day. Having lost their boats,

they were struggling for survival in the sea, when they were spotted by their kith and kin.

The Sri Lankan Navy personnel have removed the nine outboard motors engines, destroyed their fishing implements and sunk the boats.

Earlier, an application for permission to search made through the ICRC was disallowed by the Navy. Nevertheless, a search was made.

# Lightening Attack in

The LTTE carried out an attack on Sri Lankan soldiers attached to the Thallady Army Camp in Mannar, when the latter came out of the camp to clear a road block on Saturday, April, 18th.

Reports in this connection state that when the Sri Lankan soldiers came near Vankalai junction about 350 yards from the Thallady Army Camp, LTIE cadres carried out a lightening attack. Eleven Sri Lankan soldiers were killed on the spot. The LTTE siso recovered large haul of arms and ammunition.

#### The Sri Lankan soldiers thereafter retreated to the camp. Following this lightening attack, a Sri Lankan army convoy consisting of three armoured vehicles moved from Thallady and the Vankalai army moved with helicopter support all to

the scene of the battle. The Tigers attacked both these contingents and forced them to withdraw. A group of women LTTE fighters was associated with their male counterparts in this attack. LTTE lost two of

its cadres in this attack.

# Kala Manram Celebrates Bishop's Triple Jubilee

basis.

The Centre for Performing Arts, known in Tamil as Tirumarai Kala Manram, is organising a three - day Festival to celebrate the triple Jubilee ( 25 years as Bishop, 50 years as priest and 75th birthday) of His Lordship Bishop Deogupillai of Jaffna. As patron of the Centre he has encouraged and fostered all forms of cultural activities.

The Centre which functions with 30 distinct units such as Drama, Folk - play, Folklore, School of Fine

Arts, Radio, TV, School of Drama, Children's Theatre, Make - up, Costumes etc., aims to impart a sense of pride in the cultural heritage of the Tamils. Its director, Reverend Father Professor N. Maria Saveri and an Executive Committe (with members from places such as Urumpiray, Chunnagam and Mallakam), are engaged in this field for the past 29 years. Most of the activities of the Centre are carried out on a voluntary - service

#### IN TRINCOMALEE BATTLE

Reports from Trincomalee state that the Sri Lankan Army contingents which tried to move out from the Muthalikulam camp towards Tamil villages were attacked by LTTE cadres and the Sri Lankan soldiers returned to

## Thanthai Chelva Memorial Service

There will be a Memorial Service held at Tellipalai Church of South India on Sunday, 26th April, 1992 at 9.00 a.m.

Rev. Fr. D. R. Ambalavanar, a biographer and Editor of Uthaya Tharakai, the oldest journal in Ecclam, will deliver the Memorial lecture.

At the same time Sri Lankan armed forces converging in the Kumburupiddy stiff resistence.

area with a view to attack LTTE have also met with

# MUTHAMIL VILZA முத்தமிழ் விழா

TO FETE THE TRIPLE JUBILEE OF HIS LORDSHIP

Rt. Rev. Dr. B. DEOGUPILLAI. Bishop of Jaffna.

24, 25, 26 April 1992

Venue: Open Air Theatre,

238, Main Street, Jaffna. Time: Commences daily at 5-00 p.m.

All are cordially invited

TIRUMARAI KALA MANRAM.

New Era Publication Ltd., 267, Main Street, Jaffna.